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## DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

# GENDER SENSITIVE DEMOCRACY AND THE QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT

The role of gender equality in lowering corruption

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# Abstract

The aim of this study is to build on literature on the relationship between gender equality, democracy and corruption, in order to see if gender equality is a key factor for impartiality, which in turn has impacts on the quality of government and the levels of corruption. Towards this end, several Varieties of Democracy Indices were tested in order to determine which is the best predictor for lower levels of corruption. The hypothesis was that the variety of democracy that is most sensitive to gender equality serves as the best predictor for lower levels of corruption. Empirical data have been used to test this hypothesis, and the conclusion drawn is that societal gender equality creates a culture of impartiality under which the quality of government on the input side as well as the output side of government is achieved.

*Key words: Corruption, Gender Equality, Gender role socialization, Quality of Government, Varieties of Democracy, Impartiality, Gender Sensitive Democracy.*

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# 1. Introduction

For decades corruption has been high on the governance reform agenda and a subject for research around the world. Corruption is a global problem that undermines democracy and good governance and a hindrance to economic, political and social development in various ways (UNDP, 2010 p. 5). Despite that corruption is not a new phenomenon and there is large-scale research with theories and strategies on how to combat it, corruption continues to hamper democratic development and violate human rights and peoples' well-being. Weak political institutions and poorly developed control mechanisms make societies more or less sensitive to corruption (Abass, 2010, p. 218–19).

Recently, research has focused on women as the new anti-corruption force and suggests that women would be less corrupt than men; but this assumption will not solve the real problems of corruption (Goetz, 2007 p. 87). Corruption is a hindrance for women's empowerment and participation in society (UNDP, 2010 p. 1). To decrease the negative impacts of corruption and to promote the quality of government there is a need for gender equality promotion to illuminate and target corruption from several directions (Transparency International, 2010, p. 3). The correlation between corruption, gender and democracy has, during recent years, gained more attention and been elaborated and discussed differently among scholars (World Bank, 2001), (Hung en Sung, 2003), (Goetz, 2007), (Transparency International, 2007), (UNDP, 2010), (Stockemer, 2011).

The underlying factors creating this relationship need to be investigated further in order to see how gender equality and impartiality support anti-corruption and create quality of government. What impact does gender equality have on countries performance in democracy, the quality of government and the success in anti-corruption? Are women really the fairer sex or are there underlying factors such as deep-rooted, socialized gender norms affecting the attitudes towards corruption?

There is solid evidence that the relationship between corruption and gender exists. Still, there is scant research exploring links between the varieties of democracy, corruption and gender equality. This thesis explores the varieties of democracy in the context of gender equality and corruption. The study turns to gender equality and the norms of impartiality to understand the relationship between gender, corruption and the quality of government. Moreover, the study aims to investigate which variety of democracy is most sensitive to gender equality and serves as the best predictor for lower levels of corruption.

## 1. 1 Research question and aim of the study

The aim of this study is to further elaborate on the relationship between gender and corruption, in order to see if gender equality is a key factor for impartiality which in turn has impacts on the quality of government and the levels of corruption. Previous research has focused on the strong correlation between the percentage of women in national parliaments and the levels of corruption. This interpretation has resulted in a predominant view that sees a role for women as less corrupt than men and therefore actively combating or refraining from corruption in power positions. There are several problems related to this interpretation. Firstly, women become victims of gender role socialization when they are seen as less corrupt and as an anti-corruption force. Secondly, this association needs to be questioned and tested empirically from the perspective of causal direction before it can be validated.

Thus, even though the gender aspects of corruption have taken center stage in previous research, more research is needed to understand what about gender equality lies behind the rather robust link with lower corruption. This thesis contributes with a deeper understanding and elaboration of the relationship, by exploring whether gender sensitive democracies have lower levels of corruption. I argue that when there are high levels of gender equality in society, it is plausible that the impartiality within the government is high as well; this, in turn, creates a favourable environment for non-corrupt activities. In this case, even among democracies, that varietal of democracy that is most sensitive to gender equality is likely to be lowest in corruption. The analysis is guided by the following research question: *Does the variety of democracy that is most sensitive to gender equality have lower corruption compared to all other varieties of democracy?*

Several Varieties of Democracy Indices are tested in order to find which one is the best predictor for lower levels of corruption. My assumption is that the most gender sensitive index also will be the best predictor for lower levels of corruption. From this, I derive the following hypothesis: countries with gender sensitive democracy will have lower levels of corruption. This hypothesis will be tested in two different regression analyses. Data analysis is used in order to combine the theoretical framework with the empirical world and evaluate whether there is empirical support for the theory and the relationship between gender equality and the levels of corruption.

## 2. Theoretical framework

In this section a brief introduction of previous research on the relationship between gender and corruption will be presented. Followed by a more profound description of the central theories that constitute the theoretical framework for the analysis in this study.

### 2.1 Previous research

In 1999 the World Bank came out with a study on the relationship between a higher proportion of women in parliament and lower levels of corruption. The conclusion drawn was that women were less likely to commit corrupt acts. Moreover, when women make up a larger proportion of the labour market and in the parliament, there are lower levels of corruption (World Bank, 1999 p. 3).

This, however, has been strongly criticized and questioned by several scholars. According to Ann Marie Goetz this presentation of the relationship is directly harmful to women and their political participation. That women would be less corrupt because of their caring role is according to Goetz a myth that is not only harmful to women but also the factor that has historically excluded them from politics (Goetz, 2007 p. 88). There are two things that are the basis of this myth: first, if women show a less corrupt behaviour, it is because they have been excluded from corrupt activities and opportunities. Secondly, if corruption is lower when there are higher levels of women in parliaments, it is simply because liberal democracies give equal rights for women, which indicates good governance (ibid: p. 102). According to Goetz, how women have gained power is of importance for good governance rather than the percentage of women in the political sphere. Central to this idea is how women gained access to political power or political influence and how the institutions, which this occurred through, are constructed. Goetz stresses that it is not about what women can do to create good institutions and good governance but about what institutions and governments can do for women (ibid p.88-89).

Hung Sung (2003) concludes that the relationship has nothing to do with women's integrity but with fair systems. Central in this theory is that the correlation between women in parliament and the levels of corruption is spurious and loses its strength because it does not take the construction of liberal institutions into account. The relationship should be understood as an effect of the performance of liberal democracies and their institutional capacity. Sung emphasizes the role of the judiciary and states that it is crucial because it can

either ignore corruption or fight it. According to Sung, it is the creation of liberal and democratic structures that promotes equality, justice and meritocracy, and, this, creates opportunities for female participation and combats corruption (Sung, 2003, p.718).

Furthermore, Daniel Stockemer has examined the relationship between democracy and levels of corruption and the percentage of women in the parliament in 44 African countries. The study shows that countries with higher levels of corruption have higher proportions of women in the parliament and democratic states have a smaller proportion of women in parliaments (Stockemer, 2011 s.693). This is partly explained by the fact that many African countries have recently democratized and first when they begin to consolidate, it will give women greater opportunities for real political power. The study also demonstrates the negative impact corruption has on gender equality in general and on women's political participation (ibid p. 705).

In a report made by UNIFEM in 2008, the focus was on highlighting the disproportionate impact that corruption has on women. The fact that women make up the majority of the poor is an important part of understanding why they are particularly vulnerable to corruption. Poverty makes them more dependent on public services and legal protection and when informal payments are required and there is a perception that women are less likely to pay bribes because of their lower incomes; they will be excluded from such activities. This means that they cannot access services because they are not an entry point to the areas where bribes can be paid (UNDP, 2010, p. 14)

According to an expert group from U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, women are not only disproportionately affected by corruption; they also have the lowest ability to change their situation (U4, 2009 p. 3). Transparency International has also highlighted this problem and stresses that women have fewer opportunities to participate in national governments, political systems and business systems when decisions are permeated by corruption. When political parties can be bought and sold, people are elected through vote buying and personal connections rather than merit. This makes it very difficult or impossible for women to participate in decision-making (Transparency International, 2007 p. 3). The next section will present important factors for democracy and introduce the concept quality of government and impartiality.

## 2.2 Important factors for democracy

In this section important factors and concepts influencing democratic transition and democracy are presented in relation to countries' performance in democracy and the levels of corruption.

### 2.2.1 Impartiality and the Quality of Government

"When implementing laws and policies, government officials shall not take anything about the citizen or case into consideration that is not beforehand stipulated in the policy or the law" (Holmberg & Rothstein, 2012, p.25).

According to Rothstein and Holmberg it is crucial to create a universal definition of Quality of Government in order to allow it to be used, operationalized and measured regardless of a country's political structure. Because of countries differences in the construction of institutions, the definition should not include the input side of a political system. The concept also aims to measure what impact impartiality has on a country's efficiency, capacity and human rights. For example, research has showed that representative democracy does not automatically contribute to the Quality of Government but the Quality of Government has shown to contribute to greater well-being and political legitimacy. There is a great need and a moral obligation to increase the understanding and identify what actually happens on the output side in a political system.

The strength of this definition of Quality of Government is that it is universal and contributes to a more precise application. In relation to the earlier definitions of corruption this definition opens up the possibility to measure economic efficiency, administrative capacity and good governance because it defines what is abused. To understand how to measure the Quality of Government and the importance of impartiality, the political system is seen as divided into two different normative dimensions. The input side where civil society, political parties and interest groups have the right to express their opinions and exercise their ideological visions without having to act impartially, but when it comes to implementation of the policy to create political legitimacy and human well-being it should be carried out in accordance with the norm of impartiality (Rothstein, 2013 p. 24-28). This thesis argues that higher levels of societal gender equality in the input side of politics will generate norms of impartiality in the output side of politics, and this will create favourable conditions for the quality of government and lower levels of corruption.



### 2.2.2 Gender equality and the transition to democracy

What determines countries transition to and performance in democracy is an important question that needs to be understood and answered in the light of gender equality. There is scant research exploring the gender dimensions of democracy and democratic transition. Definitions of democracy almost exclusively use a gender-neutral language and the dimensions considered for democratic transition mainly focus on the right to vote, civil liberties, and electoral representation as neutral and universal. Despite this, and even if women theoretically are included in these definitions of democracy and what determines democratic transition, they are not included equally in practice (Inglehart, 2009, p 146). According to Paxton (2009) “Women’s underrepresentation in democracies around the world implies that gender maybe more important to democracy and democratization than typically understood” (Inglehart, 2009, p 155). This is problematic and should be considered as a severe interference for democracy because it allows and conceptualizes countries, as democratically institutionalized despite that women are not included equally to men in practice.

Socioeconomic and institutional factors have been the usual subjects for research about democracy and democratic transition. Moreover, the research has focused on the distinction between political liberalization and democratization. Political liberalization has been designated to precede democratic transition. This assumption has recently been questioned by the Varieties of Democracy Institute, which suggests that women’s rights should be considered as a determinant for democratic transition (V-Dem Institute, 2015, p. 2-5). According to the V-Dem institute they: “utilize a newly collected dataset on both men’s and women’s rights, and measures of countries’ transitions to democracy that, covering 160 countries for the years 1900 to 2012, are more detailed than commonly used”(V-Dem Institute, 2015, p. 5). The study concludes that in order to gain electoral democracy, a country initially has to provide men and women equal and liberal rights. The study stresses that women’s rights are highly important for democratic transition. Moreover, civil rights are crucial but women’s rights and equal levels of civil liberties seems to be more important because they influence civil skills, civil society engagement and this creates favourable conditions for regime changes (V-Dem Institute, 2015, p. 2-5). This research suggests that a key piece to understanding the performance of democracy in lowering corruption could lie in the sensitivity of its core institutions to improving gender equality. Indeed, countries sensitiveness to gender equality needs to be considered when analysing performance of democracies and their quality of government. And, yet, so far the literature is limited in an

evaluation of this type. It is really with the V-Dem data and research that we see the first nuanced consideration of various varieties of democracy that lend themselves to an investigation of their sensitivity to gender equality and the implications of such for quality of government outcomes, like corruption.

### 2.2.3 Economic growth, religious legacy and democracy

There is empirical evidence to the fact that democracy influences economic growth within a country. Moreover, liberal democracies are in general wealthier than non-democracies. Corruption is another strong factor that affects economic growth within a country. Democracy has crucial impact on countries levels of education, life expectancy and political stability, which leads to economic growth and wealth (A Cooper et al, 2006, p. 121-122). Because of this association between democracy, corruption and wealth, there is a need to include wealth as a potential factor influencing the levels of corruption within a country.

Another association that needs to be considered is the one between religious legacy and the spread of democracy. Previous research has shown that there is an association between Protestantism and the spread of democracy. Moreover, protestant countries tend to be more liberal and more democratically developed. According to Woodberry (2012), Protestants have influenced democratic theory and institutions through educational systems, civil society and the rule of law (Woodberry, 2012, p. 243-244). Both these factors will be considered and controlled for in the coming analysis. The next section gives a profound description and background to the core concepts of the theory guiding this study.

## 2.3 The relationship between gender equality and corruption

Despite that the relationship between corruption and gender has been well elaborated during recent years the causal direction of the relationship needs to be further investigated in order to see if democracies perform better in the quality of government when gender equality is higher in the society and within the institutions. Several scholars have found that high inequality is strongly correlated with high levels of corruption. Within the research field of gender and corruption the casual direction of the relationship has mainly been elaborated in two ways: the relationship as gender inequality causing higher levels of corruption and, on the other hand, gender equality as causing lower levels of corruption (Alexander & Bågenholm, 2016 p. 3).

Women's presence in political office and the electoral arena has been the main focus of these studies and inclusion of women the main cause of lower levels of corruption. Scholars have evaluated how corruption excludes women from elected office but it seems

more likely that inclusion leads to lower levels of corruption (Alexander & Bågenholm, 2016 p. 5). We can with certainty conclude that the relationship between corruption and gender needs to be further investigated in order to find a more clear understanding of the relationship. Recent research on corruption and gender has developed a deeper understanding of how women's participations leads to lower levels of corruption. This study builds on theories about impartiality, gender equality and the socialization of gender roles. According to Alexander "gender equality socializes norms of impartiality that support a culture of anti-corruption" (Alexander & Bågenholm, 2016 p. 5).

### 2.3.1 Gender equality and the quality of government

When studying the performance of countries and their outcomes in terms of quality of government, there is clear evidence that when a country has a high quality of government it also tends to have high levels of gender equality. In the current literature, there is no consensus on whether high levels of gender equality are an outcome of quality of government or if gender equality supports quality of government (Alexander, 2016 p.1). It is, therefore, relevant to explore which impact gender equality has on a country's performance in quality of government and ability to curb corruption. In the light of gender role socialization, gender equality as an effect rather than a cause of quality of government becomes much clearer.

To attribute certain characteristics and roles based on sex is especially harmful to women and girls and frames a set of mind that limits women's empowerment and directly discriminates against them. It is obvious that historically one encounters events and institutions under which the legitimacy of male dominance in decision-making power has constituted a universal across most of the world. It is the socialization of these attributes that legitimizes men's power over women. These attributions are based on sex and have a historical origin that needs to be understood in order to enlighten the relationship between gender equality and quality of government (Alexander, 2016 p.2). Alexander states that:

"Change in these early tendencies from socialization that primarily legitimates female value and capability *regardless* of sex differences is vital to understanding countries' historical trajectories in quality of government. It is through gender roles that individuals internalize some of the most pervasive grassroots' experiences of power and this has profound normative implications for the more formal culture of power that the masses accept." (Alexander, 2016 p.2).

Patriarchal gender role socialization could be considered as an obstacle to the quality of government because a society's culture of power will be based on this normative mind-set. Contrary to previous research, I argue that the direction of the relationship goes from gender

equality to lower levels of corruption. Moreover, my assumption is that gender equality supports a country's performance in the quality of government due to norms of impartiality, which lower the levels of corruption.

### 2.3.2 Gender role socialization

Men and women are perceived differently and have been attributed different sets of characteristics and capabilities based on their given sex. This gender role socialization is rooted in the discrimination of women and has created legitimacy for men to be superior over women in most environments of the society. This legitimacy of men's power over women, essentially originates in biological differences. The biological difference between men and women referring to strength, size and reproduction allows male dominance through the social construction of sex and its consequent gender roles (Alexander, 2016 p.3). Gender role socialization and patriarchy are not only connected to each other but also to the concept of quality of government because these types of social structures undermine the principle of impartiality. Referring to Walby (1990, p 214) "patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women". Gender role socialization creates social structures that allow patriarchal structures to proceed. This is related to corruption because such structures allow men to exploit women or take abuse of their power for private gain, which would be a corrupt act.

Gender role socialization is problematic because it supports a culture of power where men and women are not equal and where the principle of impartiality is neglected (Alexander, 2016 p.3). According to Rothstein (2012) the quality of government is dependent on whether political legitimacy is carried out in accordance with impartiality (Rothstein, 2012, p.178-179). Gender role socialization undermines the quality of government because it is a threat to the principle of impartiality, which is the key driver for good performance in quality of government. Therefore, I argue that societal gender equality promotes impartiality and serves as the best predictor for lower levels of corruption. When gender equality flows through the whole society, inclusion of women is much more likely. Moreover, societal gender equality creates a culture of impartiality that promotes inclusion of women, the quality of government in the input side as well as the output side of government.

## 3 Methodological approach

In this section the methodological choices, data and measurements will be introduced and discussed. Given the review of this literature, I derive the following hypothesis: Gender sensitive democracies will have the lowest levels of corruption.

### 3.1 Data and measurements

The focal dependent variable measures the levels of corruption within a country and is operationalized through Transparency International's *Corruption Perception Index*. This index measures the perception of corruption in a given country. The data includes 155 countries across the world and are taken from the 2012 Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International, 2012). The scale runs from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean) and the score indicates the perception of corruption in the public sector. The index also indicates the given country or territory's position in relation to other countries within the index (Transparency International, 2015).

The variable that initially measures the degree of gender equality in the analysis is operationalized through the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) *Gender Inequality Index*. The index indicates disadvantages based on gender in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market. Based on data availability, the data used in this study covers 123 countries. The index measures loss in potential human development caused by gender inequality in the previous mentioned dimensions. The index varies between 0- when women and men fare equal- and 1, where women fare as poorly as possible in all measured dimensions (UNDP, 2011, p 171). Due to the index's negative measurement of gender equality, the variable was reversed so 0 is the worst and 1 the best performance possible in terms of gender equality. This was made in order to get a positive outcome and make the interpretation more comprehensible.

#### 3.2.1 Varieties of democracy

In order to identify gender sensitive varieties of democracy, all of the core varieties of democracy from the V-Dem project<sup>1</sup> are tested to see which one best explains gender equality within a country. All indices are taken from the V-dem data and will enable the study to

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<sup>1</sup> These include all indices in the dataset that have democracy in the variable name including: Electoral Democracy Index, Multiplicative Democracy Index, Liberal Democracy Index, Participatory Democracy Index, Deliberative Democracy Index, Egalitarian Democracy Index.

analyse whether the type of democratic variety, particularly that most sensitive to gender equality, affects the levels of corruption.

Varieties of Democracy (V-dem) I project is one of the leading research units for measuring varieties of democracy and relevant attributes across the globe and over time. The project has produced some of the most recent and leading indices and measurements of democracy and constitutes of a collaboration of scholars around the world (Varieties of Democracy 2016a). These indices are useful in the analysis because they create an opportunity to test which variety of democracy is most sensitive to gender equality and the implications for corruption. The indices run from 0-1, where 1 is the best achievement of the given variety of democracy. All of the indices are taken from the V-Dem Data Volume 6 and measure different varieties of democracy. In order to avoid misinterpretations, the clarification of each variable is presented as the original clarification in the V-dem Codebook. In what follows, I describe each index in turn.

*The Electoral Democracy Index.* This measures to what extent the electoral principle of democracy in its fullest sense is achieved. Clarified as: “The electoral principle of democracy seeks to embody the core value of making rulers responsive to citizens, achieved through electoral competition for the electorate’s approval under circumstances when suffrage is extensive; political and civil society organizations can operate freely; elections are clean and not marred by fraud or systematic irregularities; and elections affect the composition of the chief executive of the country. In between elections, there is freedom of expression and an independent media capable of presenting alternative views on matters of political relevance. In the V- Dem conceptual scheme, electoral democracy is understood as an essential element of any other conception of (representative) democracy – liberal, participatory, deliberative, egalitarian, or some other” (V-Dem Institute 2016b, p. 44).

*The Multiplicative Polyarchy Index.* This measures to what extent the electoral principle of democracy is achieved. Clarified as: “The electoral principle of democracy seeks to achieve responsiveness and accountability between leaders and citizens through the mechanism of competitive elections. This is presumed to be achieved when suffrage is extensive; political and civil society organizations can operate freely; elections are clean and not marred by fraud or systematic irregularities; and the chief executive of a country is selected (directly or indirectly) through elections” (V-Dem Institute 2016b, p. 45-46).

*The Liberal Democracy Index.* This measures to what extent the liberal principle of democracy is achieved. Clarified as: “The liberal principle of democracy emphasizes the importance of protecting individual and minority rights against the tyranny of the state and

the tyranny of the majority. The liberal model takes a “negative” view of political power insofar as it judges the quality of democracy by the limits placed on government. This is achieved by constitutionally protected civil liberties, strong rule of law, an independent judiciary, and effective checks and balances that, together, limit the exercise of executive power. To make this a measure of liberal *democracy*, the index also takes the level of electoral democracy into account”. (V-Dem Institute 2016b, p. 46).

*The Participatory Democracy Index.* This measures to what extent the ideal of participatory democracy is achieved. Clarified as: “ The participatory principle of democracy emphasizes active participation by citizens in all political processes, electoral and non-electoral. It is motivated by uneasiness about a bedrock practice of electoral democracy: delegating authority to representatives. Thus, direct rule by citizens is preferred, wherever practicable. This model of democracy thus takes suffrage for granted, emphasizing engagement in civil society organizations, direct democracy, and subnational elected bodies. To make it a measure of participatory *democracy*, the index also takes the level of electoral democracy into account”. (V-Dem Institute 2016b, p. 47).

*The Deliberative democracy Index.* This measures to what extent the ideal of deliberative democracy is achieved. Clarified as: “ The deliberative principle of democracy focuses on the process by which decisions are reached in a polity. A deliberative process is one in which public reasoning focused on the common good motivates political decisions—as contrasted with emotional appeals, solidary attachments, parochial interests, or coercion. According to this principle, democracy requires more than an aggregation of existing preferences. There should also be respectful dialogue at all levels—from preference formation to final decision—among informed and competent participants who are open to persuasion. To make it a measure of not only the deliberative principle but also of democracy, the index also takes the level of electoral democracy into account” (V-Dem Institute 2016b, p. 49).

*The Egalitarian Democracy Index.* This measures to what extent the ideal of egalitarian democracy is achieved. Clarified as: “The egalitarian principle of democracy holds that material and immaterial inequalities inhibit the exercise of formal rights and liberties, and diminish the ability of citizens from all social groups to participate. Egalitarian democracy is achieved when 1) rights and freedoms of individuals are protected equally across all social groups; and 2) resources are distributed equally across all social groups. The distribution of resources must be sufficient to ensure that citizens’ basic needs are met in a way that enables their meaningful participation. Additionally, an equal distribution of resources ensures the potential for greater equality in the distribution of power. To make it a measure of egalitarian

*democracy*, the index also takes the level of electoral democracy into account” (V-Dem Institute 2016b, p. 49). The egalitarian democracy index is of particular interest in this analysis due to its measurements of everyday share of resources and achievements between men and women and therefore operationalized as a potential gender sensitive democracy predictor. In the early analysis stage of the thesis, all of these indices are tested in order to determine which one correlates the most with the Gender Inequality Index, which measures the level of gender equality across various aspects of countries’ distribution of resources and achievements.

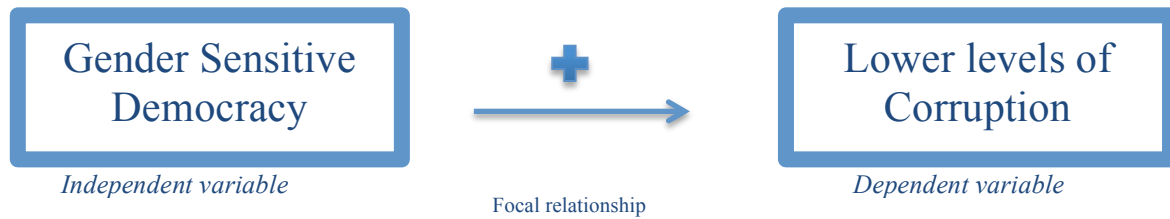
### 3.2.2 Additional data

Other additional control variables used in the analysis constitute data collected from the World Bank and the Pew Research Centre. Since previous research finds that there is a strong correlation between democracy and economic development, GDP per capita (PPP) for each country has been included in the analysis as an independent control variable. The second control variable is religious legacy, more precisely the percentage of Protestants in a given country. The protestant variable is operationalized through data from Pew Research Center on Religion and Public life and indicates the percentage of Protestants in a country and will serve to measure political affiliation. The Protestant variable is used because of the connection between Protestantism and liberal democracy. The GDP data was collected in 2012 and the data on religion in 2010 (World Bank, 2016), (Pew Research Centre, 2011).

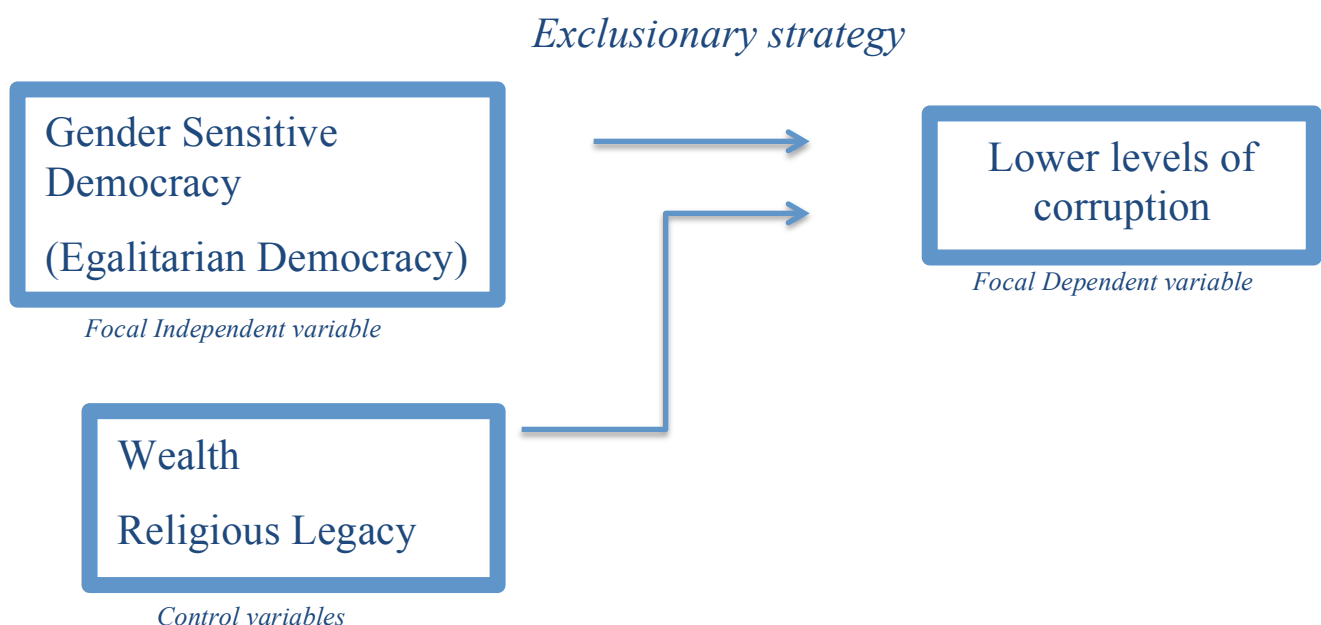
## 3.2 Research design

This study uses statistical analysis and empirical data to test the hypothesis and the premises suggested by the theory. The focal relationship guiding the analysis is between gender sensitive democracy and the levels of corruption within a country. Data analysis is suitable and used because it connects the theoretical framework with the empirical world (Aneshensel, 2002, p. 5). According to Aneshensel, after establishing a focal relationship further analysis serves to “evaluate whether the focal relationship is indeed a relationship or merely an association”. The designation of a focal relationship serves to maintain the attention to this particular relationship regardless of how many control variables are introduced (Aneshensel, 2002, p. 11).





In order to test whether this is a cause-and-effect type of relationship or not, an exclusionary strategy is used in this study. The exclusionary strategy uses alternative variables and explanations in order to isolate the relationship and rule out other explanations, spuriousness and redundancy. Additional independent variables and control variables are introduced in order to isolate the relationship and see how the covariance between the focal dependent and independent variables changes when introducing the control variables. Depending on how the covariance changes when additional variables are introduced, it is possible to “exclude” them as potential influencers of the estimate focal relationship. When using this strategy, it is common that the additional variables account for some of the variance in the focal independent and dependent variable. If the additional variables fully account for the covariance, the theory guiding this analysis will fail. However, the outcome could still be satisfactory if some of the covariance between the variables consists. Aneshensel describes it as “the inference of relatedness is supported when other explanations do not account for *all* of the covariance between the focal independent and dependent variable.” (Aneshensel, 2002, p. 12). Below an illustration of the strategy is shown.



### 3.2.1 Analytical strategy

An exclusionary strategy has been used to examine which varieties of democracy correlate the most with the levels of corruption and the levels of gender equality within a country. The assumption leading to the analysis is that the most gender sensitive variety of democracy is the best predictor for lower levels of corruption. The study tests its hypothesis by using the two varieties of democracy that are most gender sensitive in two separate regressions, with the levels of corruption as the dependent variable. Initially, a correlation between all variables was conducted in order to detect which variety of democracy is most sensitive to the level of gender equality. The result from this correlation showed that the Egalitarian Democracy Index correlated the most with the Gender Inequality Index. The Liberal Democracy Index was slightly less correlated but very close. Because of this closeness of these two indices in correlations with the Gender Inequality Index, both indices are included in the final model and analysis.

Two linear regressions have been conducted in order to see which variety of democracy best explains the levels of corruption. Linear regression analysis is used because it provides empirical evidence to answer which of these varieties of democracy best explains lower levels of corruption. In order to isolate the relationship, two additional control variables were introduced; GDP per capita (ppp), and the percentage of Protestants within a country. This enables an analysis of the relationship between gender sensitive democracy and the levels of corruption, controlling for both wealth and religious legacy. The assumption was that the Egalitarian Democracy would be more gender sensitive. Moreover, if the hypothesis is validated, this type of democracy is the best predictor for lower levels of corruption, which would indicate that gender equality has an independent role in reducing corruption.

Regression equation:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * X_1 + \beta_2 * X_2 + \beta_3 * X_3 + \varepsilon$$

$Y$  = Corruption Perception Index

$X_1$  = Egalitarian Democracy Index/ Liberal Democracy Index

$X_2$  = GDP per capita (ppp)

$X_3$  = Percentage of protestants

## 4 Results

In this section results will be explored and presented. Initially the descriptive statistics of the variables will be presented and evaluated.

### 4.1 Descriptive statistics

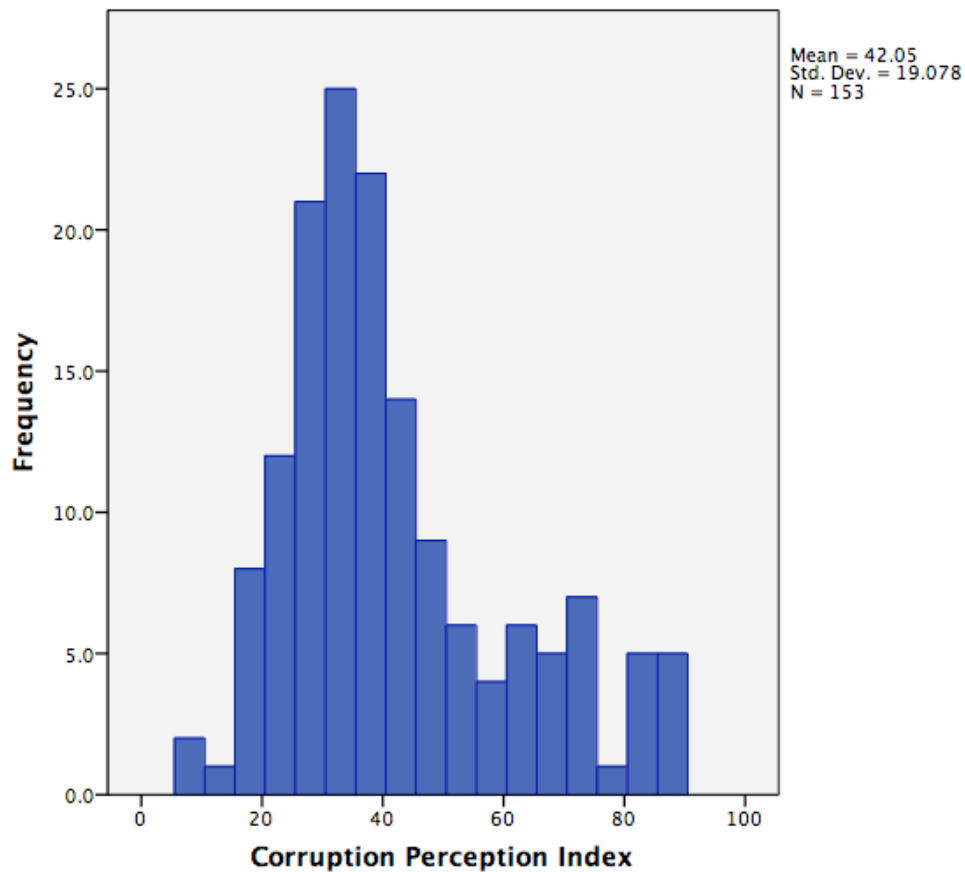
In table 1 descriptive statistics of all variables used are presented. In figure 1 a histogram of the dependent variable Corruption Perception Index is displayed.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics

Variable	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max	N
Corruption Perception Index	42.05	19.078	8	90	153
Gender Inequality Index	.6033	.18963	.23	.95	131
Multiplicative Democracy Index	.4020	.30866	.00	.93	153
Liberal Democracy Index	.4407	.27189	.00	.93	153
Participatory Democracy Index	.3775	.20823	.00	.84	153
Electoral democracy Index	.5668	.25661	.00	.96	153
Egalitarian Democracy Index	.4450	.25743	.00	.92	153
Deliberative Democracy Index	.4383	.27447	.00	.93	153
GDP per capita	15.4362	19.63959	.24	135.36	150
Protestant	17.853	23.4994	.1	91.3	150
Valid N					129

**Sources:** Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International 2015), Gender Inequality Index (UNDP, 2011), Multiplicative democracy Index, Liberal Democracy Index, Participatory Democracy Index, Electoral Democracy Index, Egalitarian Democracy Index, Deliberative Democracy (V-dem institute, 2016), GDP per capita (World Bank, 2016), Percentage of Protestants (Pew Research Center, 2011)

Figure 1: Distribution of the dependent variable Corruption Perception Index



A histogram was made in order to display the distribution of the dependent variable Corruption Perception Index and to check for possible skewness. By looking at the data and the histogram the distribution of the variable looks good and there is no need to worry about skewness.

#### 4.2 Correlations

The correlation matrix in table 2 shows the bivariate correlations between all variables used in the analysis. It provides useful information about the correlations between the dependent and the independent variable as well as the correlation between the control variables and all other variables. All the Variety of Democracy indices are included in order to show how they vary in the correlation matrix with the Gender Inequality Index. I also include the dependent variable at this stage to gauge whether the gender sensitive varietal of democracy is also one of the highest correlates of lower corruption.

Table 2: Correlation Matrix

Variable	Corruption Perception Index	Gender Inequality Index	Multiplicative Democracy Index	Liberal Democracy Index	Participatory Democracy Index	Electoral Democracy Index	Egalitarian Democracy Index	Deliberative Democracy Index	GDP	Protestant
Corruption Perception Index	1	.730**	.689**	.731**	.676**	.623**	.747**	.680**	.699**	.265**
Gender Inequality Index	.730**	1	.613**	.640**	.593**	.541**	.703**	.560**	.605**	-.051
Multiplicative Democracy Index	.689**	.613**	1	.977**	.968**	.970**	.939**	.965**	.390	.180
Liberal Democracy Index	.731**	.640**	.977**	1	.969**	.970**	.963**	.980**	.400**	.217**
Participatory Democracy Index	.676**	.593**	.968**	.969**	1	.968**	.939**	.959**	.346**	.226**
Electoral Democracy Index	.623**	.541**	.970**	.970**	.968**	1	.930**	.967**	.273**	.200*
Egalitarian Democracy Index	.747**	.703**	.939**	.963**	.939**	.930**	1	.941**	.427**	.161*
Deliberative Democracy Index	.680**	.560**	.965**	.980**	.959**	.967**	.941**	1	.357**	.232**
GDP	.699**	.605**	.390**	.400**	.346**	.273**	.427**	.357**	1	.097*
Protestant	.265**	-.051	.180*	.217**	.226**	.200*	.161*	.232**	.097*	1

\*\* . Correlation is significant at 0.01 level (2-tailed) \* p <0.05

**Sources:** Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International 2015), Variety of Democracy Indices, (V-dem institute, 2016)

**Number of Countries Included:** 153 (See table 2 in Appendix for each country included)

The bivariate correlation clearly shows that all of the Varieties of Democracy Indices are good predictors for the levels of corruption within a country. However, there are two indices that have stronger correlations with the levels of corruption; the Liberal Democracy and the Egalitarian Democracy Indices. Of these two, the Egalitarian Democracy Index has a slightly stronger correlation to the Corruption Perception Index than the Liberal Democracy Index. With a .747 correlation, the Egalitarian Democracy correlates the most with the levels of corruption and the Liberal Democracy slightly less with a (.731) correlation. The Gender Inequality Index shows nice correlations with the Varieties of Democracy Indices and they are all significantly correlated. Once again, the Egalitarian Democracy Index stands for the highest correlation with (.703) and the Liberal Democracy Index are slightly less correlated with (.640.)

Even if the control variables are not of primary interest it is worth mention that the GDP variable measuring wealth, correlates highly (.699) with the Corruption Perception Index and (.605) with the Gender Inequality Index measuring gender equality. Inline with the previous mentioned correlations, among the varieties of democracy, GDP and Egalitarian Democracy correlates the most (.427) and the Liberal democracy is slightly less correlated with (.400). This gives even stronger indicators that there is something particular to these two indices (Egalitarian/Liberal) that influence the output side of politics positively by: economic growth, lower levels of corruption and higher levels of gender equality. The protestant variable correlates significantly (.265) with the Corruption Perception Index (.265), and is not significantly correlated at all with the Gender Inequality Index.

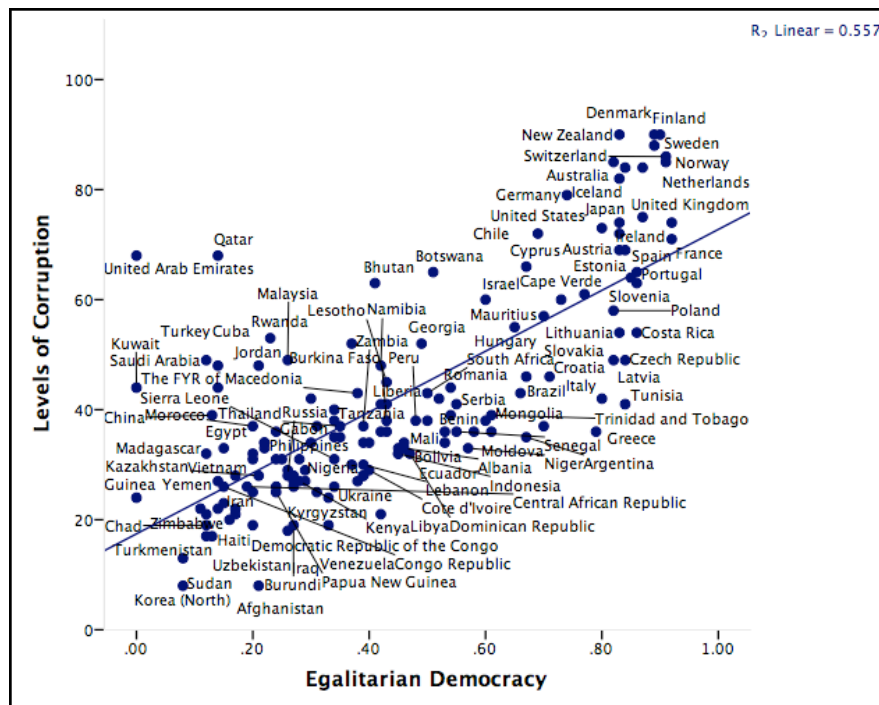
The correlation matrix shows that there is no greater need to worry about multicollinearity between the focal independent, focal dependent and the control variables since there are no correlations higher than 0,8 between those who will be used in the final regression. If there are too high correlations between the variables it creates problems for the separation of the effects of the independent variables on the dependent variable (Field, 2009, p 224). In order to be certain about this, a multicollinearity test was carried out and the results showed that there were no signs of multicollinearity between the variables (Appendix 2).

Thus, this early look at bi-variate relationships 1) shows that Egalitarian Democracy is the strongest correlate with the Gender Inequality Index and therefore is the most gender sensitive variety of democracy and 2) is the strongest correlate with lower levels of corruption.

### 4.3 Illustration of the relationships

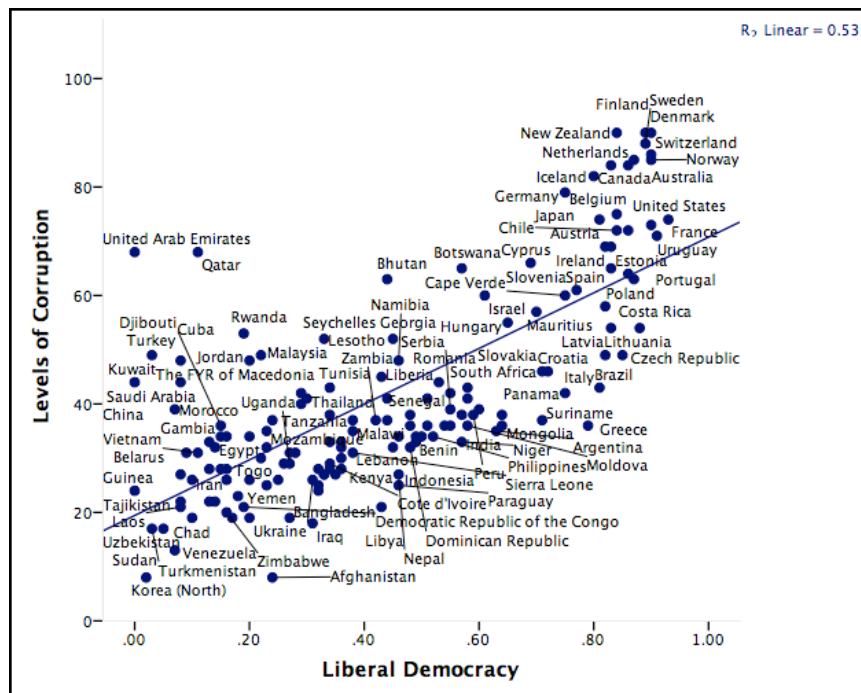
In order to visualize the relationship between the two independent variables, Liberal and Egalitarian democracy and the levels of corruption, two scatterplots are shown in figure 3 and 4. The scatterplot gives clear indications of how the variables are correlated and that the relationship is empirically significant. The levels of corruption are measured through the Corruption Perception Index, which runs from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean). To clarify: the higher number on the y-axis, the less corruption.

Figure 1: Illustration of the relationship between egalitarian democracy and the levels of corruption



By looking at the scatterplot in figure 1, it is evident that there is a strong relationship between Egalitarian Democracy, or as this type of democracy has been operationalized at this point in the study: Gender Sensitive Democracy, and the levels of corruption. The scatterplot also enables the detection of possible outliers, which there is no need to worry about in this case. By looking at the countries in the upper right side of the picture, we can see many well-known democracies and that those who have achieved egalitarian democracy the most also are among the least corrupt countries. Two possible outliers stand out in the scatterplot: Qatar and Saudi Arabia, despite that they perform in terms of egalitarian democracy, they still perform better in terms of corruption than the majority of the countries. It is evident that sensitiveness to gender is useful in terms of performance of democracies and good government (lower levels of corruption). From this scatterplot it looks like gender sensitive democracy is a good predictor for lower levels of corruption. Figure 2 shows a scatterplot that illustrates the relationship between Liberal Democracy and levels of corruption.

Figure 2: Illustration of the relationship between liberal democracy and the levels of corruption



Similar to the previous scatterplot, this one shows clear evidence for a strong relationship between Liberal Democracy and the levels of corruption within a country. Egalitarian Democracy is slightly better for predicting lower levels of corruption than the Liberal Democracy. However, both of these varieties of democracy have strong relationships to the levels of corruption. This indicates that there is something to both of these types of democracies that influence the levels of corruption within a country.

The hypothesis guiding this analysis is that the variety of democracy that is most sensitive to gender also will be the best predictor for lower levels of corruption. So far the hypothesis is correct. In order to test this with more certainty and empirically control for spuriousness and other explanations two separate regressions have been conducted. The first regression is between Egalitarian Democracy as the independent variable and the levels of corruption as the dependent variable, and the second between Liberal democracy as the independent and the levels of corruption as the dependent.



## 4.4 Regressions

In this section two regression analyses are presented and interpreted. Initially, the relationship between egalitarian democracy and the levels of corruption is explored. The first model shows the bivariate relationship between egalitarian democracy and the levels of corruption. In the second model, GDP per capita is introduced and in the third the percentage of protestants. The second regression shows the relationship between liberal democracy and the levels of corruption. Except for the focal independent variable (liberal democracy) the second regression is performed in the same way as the first one.

Table 3: Egalitarian Democracy Index and Corruption Perception Index

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Egalitarian Democracy Index	55.331*** (4.012)	40.615*** (3.452)	37.648*** (3.357)
GDP		.451*** (.045)	.463*** (.044)
Protestants			.110*** (.033)
Intercept	17.425*** (2.015)	17.005*** (1.604)	16.374*** (1.590)
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.554	.730	.755
N	152	152	149

\*\*\* p < .001, \*\* p < .01, \* p < .05

**Sources:** Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International 2012), Variety of Democracy Indices, (V-dem Dataset, 2016 Vol 6), GDP (World Bank, 2016), Protestants (Pew research Center, 2011)

**Comment:** The Corruption Perception index runs from 0 (highly corrupt) to 1 (very clean). The Egalitarian Democracy Index measures to what extent Egalitarian democracy is achieved. The index runs from 0-1 where 1 indicates the highest achievement and where rights and freedoms of individuals are protected equally across all social groups; and resources are distributed equally across all social groups. The protestant variable measures the percentage of Protestants within a country and goes from 0-100. The GDP measures wealth between countries.

In model 1 Egalitarian Democracy and the levels of corruption are tested in a bivariate regression. All the numbers are significant and we can with 99.9% certainty say that this relationship is not caused by chance. The adjusted R<sup>2</sup> is .554 and indicates that as much as 55,4 % of the variance in levels of corruption can be explained by egalitarian democracy. The most important number is the b coefficient of the independent variable, which in the first model is 55.331. The coefficient can be understood and interpreted, as one step up on the

Egalitarian Democracy Index, will increase the Corruption Perception Index with 55,4 %. This is positive because when the Corruption Perception Index increases the levels of corruption decreases.

In model 2, GDP was introduced in order to isolate the relationship and see if the effect remains as strong. When controlling for wealth, the effect of Egalitarian Democracy on the levels of corruption is 40.615. This clearly shows that wealth takes away some of the effect from the Egalitarian Democracy. The numbers are significant and an effect if 40.615 on the levels of corruption is still a strong effect. The adjusted  $R^2$  is .730, which indicates that Egalitarian Democracy and wealth can explain 73 % of the variance in the dependent variable.

In the final model 3, the Protestant variable was introduced and the b coefficient has decreased slightly to 37.648. When controlling for wealth and religious legacy the effect of Egalitarian Democracy on the levels of corruption in a country is 37.648. The adjusted  $R^2$  is .755 and indicates that Egalitarian Democracy, wealth and religious legacy can explain 75,5 % of the variation in the levels of corruption.

Table 4: Liberal Democracy Index and Corruption Perception Index

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Liberal Democracy Index	51.313*** (3.895)	37.728*** (3.241)	34.691*** (3.241)
GDP		.470*** (.470)	.484*** (.044)
Protestants			.088*** (.034)
Intercept	19.434*** (2.015)	18.168*** (1.541)	17.878*** (1.547)
Adjusted $R^2$	.532	.728	.744
N	152	152	149

\*\*\* p < .001, \*\* p < .01, \* p < .05

**Sources:** Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International 2012), Variety of Democracy Indices, (V-dem Dataset, 2016 Vol 6), GDP (World Bank, 2012), Protestants (Pew research Center, 2012)

**Comment:** The Corruption Perception index runs from 0 (highly corrupt) to 1 (very clean). The Liberal democracy index measures to which extent Liberal Democracy is achieved. The index runs from 0-1 where 1 is the highest achievement of Liberal Democracy possible. The protestant variable measures the percentage of Protestants within a country and goes from 0-100. The GDP measures wealth between countries.

In model 1, Liberal Democracy and the levels of corruption are tested in a bivariate regression. All the numbers are significant and we can with 99.9% certainty say that this relationship is not caused by chance. The adjusted  $R^2$  is .532 and indicates that 53,2 % of the variance in levels of corruption can be explained by Liberal Democracy. The b coefficient of the independent variable is 51.313. One step up on the Liberal Democracy Index will increase the Corruption Perception Index with 51,3 %. As well as the Egalitarian Democracy, Liberal Democracy explains a lot of the variance in the levels of corruption.

In model 2, when GDP was introduced, the effect of Liberal Democracy on the levels of corruption is 37.728. Wealth takes away some of the effect from the Liberal democracy similarly to the Egalitarian Democracy. The adjusted  $R^2$  is .728, which indicates that Liberal Democracy and wealth can explain 73 % of the variance in the dependent variable.

In the final model 3, the Protestant variable was introduced and the b coefficient has decreased slightly to 34.691. When controlling for wealth and religious legacy the effect of Liberal Democracy on the levels of corruption in a country is 34.691. The adjusted  $R^2$  is .744 and indicates that Liberal Democracy, wealth and religious legacy can explain 74,5 % of the variation in the levels of corruption.

The results shows that the Egalitarian Democracy is the variety of democracy that is most sensitive to gender and serves as the best predictor for lower levels of corruption. The Liberal Democracy is not far behind, and the two of them are very similar in explaining the levels of corruption and equal in lowering corruption. The results provides us with empirical evidence that gender equality has some independent role in reducing corruption.

## 5 Conclusion

The central aim of this study was to investigate whether gender equality has an independent role in lowering corruption. Egalitarian Democracy (Gender Sensitive Democracy) and Liberal Democracy correlated the most with both the Gender Inequality Index and the Corruption Perception Index. Thus, those two indices were tested in two regressions in order to investigate the relationship more closely and with greater certainty. Does the variety of democracy that is most sensitive to gender equality have lower corruption compared to all other varieties of democracy? The conclusion drawn is that Gender Sensitive Democracy is the variety of democracy that serves as the best predictor for lower levels of corruption. High levels of societal gender equality in the input side of politics generate norms of impartiality in the output side of politics, and create favourable conditions for the quality of government and lower levels of corruption. The hypothesis has been confirmed, and it is evident that gender equality is crucial for the quality of government, democracy and lower levels of corruption.

This comes with clear policy implications; gender equality is much more important for the quality of government, democracy and lower levels of corruption than we so far have understood. Even in countries with high levels of democratic institutionalization, there could be variation in the extent to which these countries are sensitive in their policies and laws to gender equality. This should be considered as a severe interference in democracy's potential in terms of the potential to maximize output impartiality. In light of these findings, there is a clear need to promote societal gender equality and illuminate discrimination at all levels of society. Women make up half the population, and the fact that women are still not equal to men is a threat to democracy that needs to be addressed. Patriarchal structures and gender role socialization allow men's domination over women and threatens the norms of impartiality. Institutions have contributed historically in ways that legitimate universal male dominance in several areas such as decision-making power.

We need to oppose discriminatory gender role socialization and the consequent discrimination that maintains patriarchal structures. Instead, there should be a global effort to promote societal gender equality. When gender equality flows through the whole of society, inclusion of women is much more likely. Societal gender equality creates a culture of impartiality that promotes inclusion of women, the quality of government in the input side as well as the output side of government. Further research should pay more attention, and further elaborate gender equality as a crucial factor for the quality of government.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1:

Table 1: Collinearity statistics regression 1

Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Egalitarian Democracy Index	.793	1.261
GDP	.807	1.240
Protestants	.973	1.028

Table 2: Collinearity statistics regression 2

Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Liberal democracy Index	.799	1.252
GDP	.830	1.205
Protestants	.953	1.050

Comment: Tolerance values below 0,2 and VIF values greater than 4 indicates problem of multicollinearity (Field, 2014, p. 224), (Sundell, 2010).

## Appendix 2

Table 1: Countries included

Country	
Afghanistan	Laos
Albania	Latvia
Algeria	Lebanon
Angola	Lesotho
Argentina	Liberia
Armenia	Libya
Australia	Lithuania
Austria	Madagascar
Azerbaijan	Malawi
Bangladesh	Malaysia
Belarus	Mali
Belgium	Mauritania
Benin	Mauritius



Bhutan	Mexico
Bolivia	Moldova
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mongolia
Botswana	Montenegro
Brazil	Morocco
Bulgaria	Mozambique
Burkina Faso	Namibia
Burundi	Nepal
Cambodia	Netherlands
Cameroon	New Zealand
Canada	Nicaragua
Cape Verde	Niger
Central African Republic	Nigeria
Chad	Norway
Chile	Pakistan
China	Panama
Colombia	Papua New Guinea
Comoros	Paraguay
Congo Republic	Peru
Costa Rica	Philippines
Cote d'Ivoire	Poland
Croatia	Portugal
Cuba	Qatar
Cyprus	Romania
Czech Republic	Russia
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Rwanda
Denmark	Sao Tome and Principe
Djibouti	Saudi Arabia
Dominican Republic	Senegal
Ecuador	Serbia
Egypt	Seychelles
El Salvador	Sierra Leone
Estonia	Slovakia
Ethiopia	Slovenia
Finland	South Africa
France	Spain
Gabon	Sri Lanka
Gambia	Sudan
Georgia	Suriname
Germany	Sweden
Greece	Switzerland
Guatemala	Tajikistan
Guinea	Tanzania
Guinea-Bissau	Thailand
Guyana	The FYR of Macedonia

Haiti	Timor-Leste
Honduras	Togo
Hungary	Trinidad and Tobago
Iceland	Tunisia
India	Turkey
Indonesia	Turkmenistan
Iran	Uganda
Iraq	Ukraine
Ireland	United Arab Emirates
Israel	United Kingdom
Italy	United States
Jamaica	Uruguay
Japan	Uzbekistan
Jordan	Venezuela
Kazakhstan	Vietnam
Kenya	Yemen
Korea (North)	Zambia
Kuwait	Zimbabwe
Kyrgyzstan	